

ART AND
MIRACLES IN
MEDIEVAL
BYZANTIUM

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THE CRYPT AT
HOSIOS LOUKAS AND
ITS FRESCOES

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CAROLYN L. CONNOR

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ABBREVIATIONS

* * * * *

AB	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> (Antwerp, 1643ff.)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BIAB	<i>Bulletin de l'institut archéologique bulgare</i>
BSA	<i>Annals of the British School in Athens</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CA	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CorsiRav	<i>Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina</i>
CP	<i>Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae</i> , ed. H. Delehaye in <i>Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum</i> (Brussels, 1902)
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> (Paris, 1907ff.)
DCAE	<i>Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaeologikēs Hetaireias</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
JOB	<i>Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
Lex ChrIk	<i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i>
LexTK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae Cursus, series Graeca</i> , ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1857ff.)
REB	<i>Revue des Etudes Byzantines</i>
RBK	<i>Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst</i>
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift</i>

INTRODUCTION

* * * * *

ON STEPPING OUT of the bright Greek sunlight and descending a short flight of steps to enter the crypt below the great church at the monastery of Hosios Loukas, the modern visitor is at first hard-pressed to discern what this cool, spacious, dimly lighted interior represents. Gradually, in the light from the doorway and a small window, figures and colors on richly painted surfaces begin to emerge. From the vaults overhead haloed faces gaze down, and around the walls are scenes showing Christ, the Virgin, and apostles, all surrounded by intricate and varied ornament. Sheltered in this lavish setting are three massive tombs, two on either side of the sanctuary and one in a niche directly opposite the doorway, prominently labeled on its modern facing of white marble, "The Tomb of Saint Loukas." We are standing then in a holy space intimately associated with the monk Loukas, the monastery's tenth-century founder, a healer and worker of miracles whose fame brought crowds of pilgrims and also great wealth to the place, making it one of the most sumptuous and ambitious of all Byzantine monastic foundations.

Perhaps it is understandable that this burial chapel has received little attention through the years, for the two beautifully preserved churches at the monastery have overshadowed it. The great domed Katholikon contains the most comprehensive program of mosaic decoration of the middle Byzantine period, dazzling in its array of christological scenes, figures of saints, and ornament, while adjoining it the elegantly proportioned church of the Panagia with its refined sculptural decoration complements its more grandiose neighbor. The crypt, on the other hand, accessible only by the stairway on the south side of the Katholikon, was until recently coated with a thousand years' accumulated soot, badly obscuring the frescoes. However, a cleaning by the Greek Archaeological Service in the 1960s revealed the excellent state of preservation, as well as the high artistic quality of these frescoes.

Virtually all wall surfaces in the crypt are painted in fresco in fresh, bright colors, and the program is exceptional in its completeness. In eight lunettes around the walls appear scenes of Christ's Passion and Resurrection. In the vaults overhead are forty medallion portraits of apostles, warrior martyrs, and holy men, all set within floral and geometric borders and imitation polychrome marble revetment. Most inscriptions are still clearly legible. Hues range from somber cobalt blue and rich jade green to subtle pastel shades of blue, pink, ocher, and gray. Draperies are enlivened by dramatic linear and zigzag plays of folds and white highlights. Figures are further animated by intense expressions and graceful attitudes and gestures. The style of the frescoes is closest to the mosaics and frescoes of the Katholikon above, but shares many features with art of the tenth-century "Macedonian Renaissance," as well as with eleventh-century monumental painting. The sophistication of the work suggests models from the artistic capital of the empire, Constantinople. The need to catalogue and interpret this body of material is evident, for

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These newly "rediscovered" frescoes are among the most remarkable survivals from the medieval period.

The frescoes were first studied by George Sotiriou, who published a short article on them in 1929; unfortunately Sotiriou was unable to provide full description and illustration at this time. Certain frescoes in the crypt were cited in an article of 1969 by Manolis Chatzidakis, of importance for its examination of the questions of the date and foundation of the monastery even though its central thesis has not won general acceptance. It was not until Euthymios Sfikas's publications of 1970 and 1974 of the restoration work at the monastery that an archaeological report on the monument was made available along with an approach to some of the most important points it raises. The first of Sfikas's valuable works recorded the dramatic results of the cleaning of some of the frescoes; its two large illustrations of the crypt, however, made clear the need for a comprehensive documentation with high-quality photographs and details suitable for scholarly study. More recent publications have dealt with other aspects of the monastery (see especially the works by L. Chatzidakis-Bacharás, L. Bouras, and D. I. Pallas listed in the bibliography). While the mosaics of the Katholikon continue to hold a central position in the history of Byzantine art, the frescoes of the crypt have remained relatively unknown and the implications of their program unexplored. The time has come for the crypt with its frescoes to take its place among the great artistic accomplishments of the time. In addition study of the crypt provides us with the key to understanding this important monastery as a whole, its origins and its place in medieval Byzantium.

When I started work on the crypt in 1983 I was not yet fully aware of its significance or of the approach its study would require. Drawn by the beauty of the frescoes, I felt they needed to be analyzed artistically and iconographically and brought to the attention of scholars in the field. Thanks to the generous help of Greek colleagues, Doula Mouriki in particular, I was able to study and photograph the frescoes in several intensive campaigns. As the work progressed, however, the wider implications of the crypt and its decoration became more apparent. Suddenly the issues raised by the material began to take on new dimensions: the possibility of exploring, for example, how artists worked side by side in different media, how patrons saw themselves within the monastic world, what were the practices of a miracle cult, and where the crypt stands in relation to ancient monastic burial traditions. Otherwise remote subjects became accessible as I delved into the monastery's meaning. Although the dating and patronage of Hosios Loukas were not originally central concerns in my study, the final synthesis of findings pointed unmistakably to answers to these long-debated questions as well. The need to explore the diverse themes in the material underlined the importance of setting this monastery in its contemporary artistic, religious, social, and historical context.

The questions posed by the frescoes and their physical setting led to a progressively deeper understanding of their meaning. A homely analogy to the process would be the peeling of an onion, with successive layers of meaning emerging as one progressed. A variety of sources gradually made it possible to understand the successive layers and relate them to their contemporary context. Among these documents were monastic

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charters, service books, land records, and—the important and fascinating of all—the Vita or Life of St. Luke of Steirion, the biography of the monastery's founder, whom I will call Holy Luke from here on.

This Vita, probably written by an anonymous monk in the apse chapel in vivid detail the saint's childhood, rebellious youth, self-imposed ascetic training, and miracles, including his ability to levitate and prophesy. Among this document's most important contributions are its descriptions of the founding and building phases of the monastery. From these can be derived, we will see, now and precise date in the tenth century for the building of the Panagia church and the Katholikon with its crypt. The Vita also describes the healing cult and the wide variety of beliefs and practices centered on the saint's tomb. At the end of the Vita are fifteen accounts of posthumous healing miracles, sometimes experienced after the application of oil from the lamp hanging over the tomb, or of moisture exuded from it, and sometimes through incubation, the practice of allowing certain supplicants to sleep by the tomb at night in order to help dreams or visions. Not only are the miracles witnesses to the function of the crypt, but they also provide through a wealth of incidental detail a glimpse of a firm section of middle Byzantine society and its relation to the monastery. One can even imagine being part of the crowd that gathered at the monastery every February 7, Luke's feast day, when this Vita was read aloud to the assembled faithful. This document, to which we will refer frequently, responds to many questions posed by the crypt and its decoration and also provides a new perspective on the monastery as a whole. A collaborative translation and commentary of the Vita is forthcoming. Substantial excerpts are utilized in this work to help illustrate and describe the monastery's context and to assess the chronology and dating of its churches.

This many-faceted approach just described is reflected in the division of this book into three chapters. Since the book is based on the frescoes of the crypt, the first chapter presents them in catalogue form, with technical descriptions and iconographic analyses of each unit of the decoration, along with a complete set of plates. I took the photographs in two summer campaigns at the monastery, in 1983 and 1984. By using infrared and ultraviolet photography I was able to read several inscriptions on the portrait medallions that scholars have never before seen; this new information made possible a more comprehensive study of the overall program of the frescoes. Repaintings in some of the frescoes were also shown using these methods, which hold interesting possibilities for the study of other monuments.

Since the catalogue cannot of itself elucidate the meaning and interpretations of the frescoes, the chapter continues with discussions of their program and style. A close examination reveals that the themes of the program of the frescoes are thoroughly in keeping with the crypt's evident use as a funerary chapel. The concerns for salvation and resurrection lie behind the choice and arrangement of scenes and portraits—for example, scenes from the Passion of Christ are accompanied by scenes showing the events of Holy Week. The apse has unfortunately suffered extensive water damage and now has only a small area of plaster clinging to the brick and stone masonry. This patch, however, con-

the faint outline of a halo and traces of pigment of an inclined head, sufficient evidence to confirm that the subject of the fresco was the Deesis, the image of Christan intercession par excellence. This image, of which my photographs recorded the best traces, is the key to the program's meaning. The Deesis with its intercessory and eschatological connotations should be understood in conjunction with the compositions in the vault inside the entrance to the crypt, on entering one finds overhead the figure of Christ with arms outstretched toward a group of monks on the left wall and Luke of Samos on the right. The hope of salvation is thus implicitly extended to every supplicant entering the crypt. The theme of intercession is reiterated in the vaults with their medallion portraits of warriors, apostles, and holy men. The preponderance of monks and holy men among these portraits, especially those famed for their miraculous powers, not only glorifies the monastic tradition but, as I will show, also stresses another function of the crypt: miracles were worked here at Holy Luke's tomb. The program of the frescoes reflects the crypt's specific role as a charged and holy place deep within the monastery and closely linked with the saint himself. Here his intercessory power was entreated and shared by the monastery's own community of monks and by those who traveled to the monastery hoping to experience miracles.

This first chapter also deals directly with the frescoes introduced in the catalogue, analyzing in detail for the first time their program and style. As a result it is now possible to sit this monument amidst wider artistic environment and to show its relation to other media and programs of decoration. It is also from this chapter that the other two derive, the two frescoes that present the challenges taken up in the following chapters: the function of the crypt is discussed in the second chapter, and its social context in the third.

Crypts are rare in the Byzantine world and it is not immediately evident how such a crypt would have been used. It was thus necessary to explain how it functioned liturgically and to what degree the function had shaped the crypt's architecture and decoration. The second chapter is therefore entitled "Architecture and Liturgy." It was clear from the start that this crypt must have served as a burial chapel because it contains three tombs, including that of the founder and patron saint of the monastery. Architectural prototypes for the Hosios Loukas crypt can be identified, especially in Palestine at the monasteries of the great abbots Sabas and Euthymios of the fifth and sixth centuries. While archaeological parallels for the middle Byzantine period are more difficult to establish, literary practices indicate the close parallelism between the crypt at Hosios Loukas and *kyriotheka* or funeral chapels, such as those at Balduvino in Bulgaria or at the Pantokrator Monastery at Constantinople. The preserved *typika* or charters of these and of other one-church monasteries describe the use of these chapels according to prescribed orders of founders or of tradition concerning the burial and housing of founders. An additional insight provided by this analysis of funerary practices is that a church's narrative, in the middle and late Byzantine period, was often used in ways similar to those of funerary chapels or crypts. Liturgies for burial and commemoration of monks and holy men at such times, described in service books, *typika*, and Lives of saints, confirm that celebration of the Eucharist was part of services of commemoration; because the vaulting of the crypt is equipped with choir, chancel barrier, and presbytery moses, it appears

that the Eucharist was indeed celebrated in the crypt, probably as part of the services of burial and commemoration of monks, abbots, and patrons. A further insight into the crypt emerges from consulting the Vita, its role in the monastic cult for which the monastery became famous. Through the example of Hosios Loukas I show that the crypt, properly interpreted, lets us recognize a feature of wider significance for the history of Byzantine architecture: architectural function especially and consistently helped determine architectural form.

In the third chapter I discuss further features of the internal and external context of the monument and thus reconstruct a hypothetical picture of the circumstances that inspired its creation. The initial problem is to explain the lavishness of the building and decoration of this remote monastery, for in the Katholikon, though the largest ecclesiastical foundation still standing, although we know from descriptions in literary sources of what may have been comparable assemblies, the richness of mosaic and painted decoration and ornament is unsurpassed in any surviving church. Why did the monastery come from for such an undertaking? What was the monastery responsible for the project? Who might have been responsible? How was the expenditure justified in such an isolated location? A wide range of documents suggests answers to these questions. Land tenure records, the charter of a burial society active in the region, and other texts offer a plausible reconstruction of the circumstances of the monastery's creation.

The first clue to the monastery's patronage was found in the frescoes of four medallion portraits of abbots in the southern vault of the crypt. The four subjects appear in sensitive, realistic portraits seemingly painted from life, with references to monastic and dynastic decoration. The abbots, whose identities had never been adequately explained, can now be identified as two contemporary leaders of monasticism, Adamantios of Athos and Luke the Stylite of Constantinople, both of whom later were recognized as saints by the Orthodox church. With them, and I think, prominently associating themselves with these famous abbots are the two principal founders of the monastery, the abbots Theodosios and Philotheos.

The historical circumstances of this period in Byzantine history provide the logical connection between these abbots and the monastery. One of the most important events of the time was the reconquest in 961 of the island of Cyprus, an event that has a direct relation to our monastery. Holy Luke prophesied this conquest. A year was held for some one hundred years by the Arabs, and during this period Arabs on the island were able to raid Greek lands, often devastating the coastlines in the region and its surrounding sea and wealth. The reconquest is very likely the ultimate cause of the funds needed to construct from the campaign was probably the ultimate cause of the funds needed to construct and decorate the Katholikon. Military leaders had paid for the building of monasteries before. The general Nikephoros Phokas had, for example, given to Athanasios of Athos before the funds necessary to found the community of the crypt. The Hosios Loukas monastery personages frequently appear in the *decanon* of the Katholikon and the *typikon*. The Vita makes clear that the saint was often encountered with military and political history. The Vita makes clear that the saint was often encountered with military and political history. The Vita makes clear that the saint was often encountered with military and political history. The Vita makes clear that the saint was often encountered with military and political history.

The catalogue is organised in the following way. The first category of decoration, the *trigona* vaults with their portrait medallions, will be divided into three subcategories: *virgine martyrs*, *apostles*, and *holy men*. Twelve warrior martyrs appear in the vaults of the middle bays running from north to south (B, E, and I in fig. 10; see also figs. 11–13). On the main east-west axis are portraits of the twelve apostles (D, F, and G; see figs. 14–20). In the vaults of the corner bays (A, C, H, and J) are the holy men, sixteen in all (see figs. 17–52). The portrait medallions are referred to by bay (A through J) and by vault segment, numbered one through four starting in the north and proceeding clockwise (see the plan in figure 10). The basic information included at the beginning of each entry is the location, the name of the saint (names have been anglicized or latinized throughout for context, most familiar usage—for example, Theodore rather than the transliteration from the Greek, Theodoros, or Vikentius rather than Bikenitos), the saint's dates, reference to the illustration by figure or plate number(s), the inscription preserved, the saint's feast day according to the Synaxarium of Constantinople (ol-

The third category comprises the frescoes of the eastern vault (K) on the piers and lateral walls (figs. 28–81). The fourth major category is the ornament (figs. 82–93). The remaining compositions, the Deesis in the apse (fig. 93) and a scene of intercession in the southwest wall (fig. 82), will be discussed in the seventh. Progress and Meaning following the catalogue.

Portrait Master in the Japanese. A young man, handsome, with curly black hair, dressed in a blue robe, is shown in the center of the composition, looking towards the right. He is surrounded by a group of people, some of whom are also looking towards the right. The background is a simple, light-colored wall.

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Bibliography: *East Asian Art* 1000-1050

Fig. 10. *Portrait Master*, 1000-1050. (Fig. 10)
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Fig. 11. *Portrait Master*, 1000-1050. (Fig. 11)
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Fig. 12. *Portrait Master*, 1000-1050. (Fig. 12)
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 Portrait Master, 1000-1050. (Fig. 12)

along with the mosaic argued in the section "Program and Message."

Bibliography: *East Wall*, p. 267-68.

- 14 *One Holy Figure Philothos*. (Fig. 52)
 KYDIOZ HATOP HONON HONON HONON
 Mosaic. Mosaic (?) Part of Mosaic. Mosaic
 (Offices and Prayers for the celebration of
 the translation or transference of Holy Luke)
 (See also Mosaic. *Philothos*, p. 271-
 272, in an unknown date.)

The mosaic of *Philothos* shows a half-headed old man with a long white beard. This is a more conventional and less individualized image than the other three in the cycle. Hair and beard are usually rendered in a common way in the fresco, but here they are rendered in a more individualized way. There is a cross at the top of his forehead; the beard parts narrow and curve down below a prominent chin. The man's face is rendered in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle.

His name is inscribed either *Philothos* in dark black letters, whereas his epithet is in the same, equally clumsy, letters. The background in the medallion is a pale green and its general tone of preservation is very good.

Philothos has been identified with the old man in the group depicted just inside the entrance to the crypt (Fig. 29) and as the old man who presents a model of the church to Holy Luke in a fresco of the northeast chapel of the Katholikon.¹⁴ A *Philothos* is mentioned in the text of the Offices and Prayers for the feast day of the translation or removal of Luke's relics.¹⁵ This person was responsible for the transfer of the relics and for the building of the new church to house them. If this is the same *Philothos* as described in the prayers, he would not deserve the honor of having his portrait among other distinguished abbots and patrons in the crypt. On his identification with the apothecary *Philippus* mentioned in the Vita, see the section "Program and Message."

THE SCENE IN LUNETTES

Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 40, top) (Fig. 40)

HATOPHOS

First scene in the Passion cycle (Mt. 21:1-11)
 Mt. 21:1-11, Lk. 19:28-41, Jn. 12:12-20
 (See also the fresco of the *Passion Cycle* in the
 "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem" section, pp. 271-272)

In the scene of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, the south wall of the northeast bay, Christ is mounted on the ass and followed by St. John the Evangelist on the right toward the city of Jerusalem where he is greeted by four figures, the four Evangelists, who hold out a palm branch. The figures are shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle. The figures are shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle. The figures are shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle.

Christ is shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle. The figures are shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle. The figures are shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle.

Christ, robed in a dark blue himation, and carries a scroll in his left hand while gesturing with his right toward the elders (Fig. 35). John wears a grey himation and pale mauve chiton and gestures toward Christ as if in conversation with him (Fig. 36). Before the open gates of the city of Jerusalem stand three imposing figures (Fig. 37, Fig. 38). They have long hair and beards and strong, with their robes of deep red and blue they wear prominent white scarves decorated with patterns of stars and parallel bars, these are draped around their shoulders like collars but with ends hanging down in a point. A fourth figure, seen only as a youthful face in three-quarter view, stands behind the others (Fig. 39). Enclosed walls and a fountain close the marble-framed gateway with the ramparts of a half-scale tower, the walls are made of high brown blocks indicated in wavy diagonal perspective. The mountain is grey with three rather white crags pointed in jagged pattern. The ground (Fig. 40) is in several shades of green.

14. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

and the sky is dark blue with the title of the scene inscribed in white letters.

The scene is damaged in places—several patches are rubbed in the lower part and Christ's face is partly obliterated—but it is generally in a good state of preservation.

The simplicity and piling down of the elements in this scene are comparable to other monumental eleventh-century examples. At Daphni there are many similarities in the composition of the Entry in the south wing; but the figures have multiplied, four children, two apostles, and six guests in the city gates.¹⁶ Although larger and intended to be seen from further away, this is in an almost perfect way, the highest composition is not as bold as the mosaic or fresco in that at Herson-Loukas.¹⁷ The scene is the gold ground of the mosaic, ready to absorb the great light of the apse mosaic, the presence of even a highly refined mosaic of Christ in the background lends character and interest to the scene as it appears at Herson-Loukas, a comparable effect to that achieved by manuscript illuminations.¹⁸ The clear and simplified version of the scene appears at Daphni-Kyriakon in Cappadocia and in mosaic at the monasteries from Sinai of the ninth to eleventh century.¹⁹

The frontal seated position of Christ is an characteristic of Byzantine depictions of the Entry. This is discussed by Maguire (1985) and is a natural source using another to illustrate the early adoption of the "enthroned" pose of Christ.²⁰ The enthroned Christ already appears in the twelfth-century manuscript, the Romanos and Rubeus Gospels.²¹

The scene is almost identical in our version of the scene is the appearance of the elders of the Gospel text in three possible ways. First, the scene is almost identical in our version of the scene is the appearance of the elders of the Gospel text in three possible ways. First, the scene is almost identical in our version of the scene is the appearance of the elders of the Gospel text in three possible ways.

16. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

17. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

18. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

19. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

20. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

21. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

THE LUNETTES

are similar to the other three in the cycle. The figures are shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle. The figures are shown in a more individualized way than the other three in the cycle.

14. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

15. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

16. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

17. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

18. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

19. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

20. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

21. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

22. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

23. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

24. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

25. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

26. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

27. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

28. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

29. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

30. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

31. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

32. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

33. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

34. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

35. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

36. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

37. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

38. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

39. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

40. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

41. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

42. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

43. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

44. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

45. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

46. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

47. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

48. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

49. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

50. *Philothos*, p. 271, and *Kyriakon*, *Philothos*, p. 271, 272.

lands dark blue with no visible inscription. A dark red band is visible along the bottom of the composition on the left.

The frame is gilded and flaking in many areas; the same damage is to be seen in Chertok's lunation and lunation just the same around the lunation. The frame of some lunation has been painted and the lower edge is the color of the lunation, suggesting damage to some lunation.

A notable Deposition of the Last Supper appears in a lunation panel in the area of Saint Apollonia's lunation in Moscow; here the central table with cruciform wood is not visible; the frame of the Deposition of the Last Supper is damaged — in the center of the table are two red, as in our copy, raised in a cruciform shape; the frame of the Last Supper in the Russian lunation has been lost in a large, dark, and irregular, as in the copy, but is distinguished from the others by the pattern of painting. — The lunation in the table of the Last Supper appears in three monumental paintings — for example, in Cappadocian lunation at Tokai; the composition is very similar to the copy. —

An unusual feature of the scene is the wooden table with the cruciform shape; the table of the Last Supper is usually covered with a cloth that hangs down in front. A similar type is only found in one other scene, at Cappadocia, in Cappadocia the table legs are visible in this lunation and there are fragments that do not appear in the copy. —

Just enough of the scene is preserved at Deposition to recognize a composition similar to that of Herson Lunation and also the length on which Peter says and the rounded surface in front of Christ's head. — Another panel in the lunation of Saint Angela in Leningrad (ca. 1400), which Peter mentions but does not mention Christ, is referred to in 15.25 and 17. —

[A compositionally unique feature of our

scene is the singular preservation of the lunation of the table and the cruciform shape in composition]

Chertok's Deposition from the Cross (pl. 16, fig. 14, 1400).

DAVID KASHAGI
(165. 20. 10. 100; MK. 15. 44. 47. 14. 1000; 16. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 17. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 18. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 19. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 20. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 21. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 22. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 23. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 24. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 25. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 26. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 27. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 28. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 29. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 30. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 31. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 32. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 33. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 34. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 35. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 36. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 37. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 38. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 39. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 40. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 41. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 42. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 43. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 44. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 45. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 46. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 47. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 48. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 49. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 50. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 51. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 52. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 53. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 54. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 55. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 56. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 57. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 58. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 59. 15. 47. 14. 1000; 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solid blue background of the upper part of the figures is likely to be interpreted as the kimonos of the saints, and not as a background. The figures are not as well preserved in the lower part of the crypt. The inscription on the wall is illegible.

The state of preservation of the figures is poor and there are numerous gullies on the entire half mosaic, including a large one filling most of the space behind 9.

Like its prominent location and the unusual simplicity of the rest of the decoration of the crypt—the group of mosaic opposite the east wall containing portraits of holy men—is it very likely that this is a portrait of the protomartyr and first abbot of Hosios Loukas, the same himself. This iconographic tradition survives as a modern icon of Holy Luke, now in the narthex of the Pindos church depicting him in the same pose and clearly identified him by an inscription.¹⁰

THE ORNAMENT

The presence of lavishly ornamented surfaces throughout the crypt contributes to the sense of otherworldliness that surrounds the viewer in entering this space. The different kinds of ornament correspond to their location in the crypt and form three categories: three types of wall motifs decorate the vaults, bands with floral and geometric motifs outline sections and divisions between bays and segments of vaults, and on walls of arches and imitation marble in niches which appear mostly in the lower zone near the floor.

The vaults have three varieties of *aretz* decoration, which surround the portrait medallions. A honeycomb variety, with blue circles containing white stars, is set in a white field having red lines (fig. 4a); a white, somewhat small, cross set in a white field in the lower corners of some pendentives and circles set with red flowers (pseudo-Kufic) of blue and pink (fig. 5a). A third, more complex type has other geometric motifs, again forming three corner circles, which enclose this circle surrounded by interlaced, white, six-pointed stars; these appear against a red-green background (fig. 8a). At the intersections of the green fields are circles with inscribed crosses of various designs and, in the vault before the sanctuary, a band of God. These are outlined in dark blue and white bands and the interlaced circles consist of a green field of blue-green or blue with delicate eight-pointed stars between the crosses (figs. 4c, 5c). Dividing the segments of the

¹⁰ The iconographic study of the figures in the crypt is given in the appendix to the book, *see* p. 100.

vaults are simple bands or rainbow bands consisting of rows of diamonds in shades of pink and green.

In the soffits of the arches between the bays are lambent geometric and floral bands. These have distinct petal and flower shapes within diamond shapes. The background in all cases is white with the geometric elements in dark blue and floral motifs in other, pink, red, dark blue, gray, and olive green (figs. 8a, 9c).

Imitations of marble in relief and reversals compose the remainder and lower zones of the wall surfaces, between the lower borders of the lunette scenes and the floor. On either side of bay 1, on the inner wall over the tomb, there are vertically with imitations of mosaic to a bold design. Interlaced circular patterns with small and large pseudo-marble roundels set against a stippled green background. The vault patterns of the multicolored marble in these are repeated in the imitation marble blocks framing the arches around the tomb and between bays throughout the crypt. Lastly, marble imitation imitating square panels set in a patterned background, or in matched round panels with thick borders of contrasting marble patterns, appears below the scenes (figs. 9, 10); these panels are combined with imitations in two cases with pseudo-Kufic ornament (fig. 9c).

Parallel to these decorative patterns are widespread. The Orthodox Baptistry and Mausoleum of Galla Placidia of the fifth century

¹¹ The patterns of imitation marble blocks imitating marble are

THE WALLS

provide the closest parallels for the vault ornament of the crypt. The decorative patterns in Cappadocian churches provide some parallels, including the scroll patterns which appear very close to the honeycomb pattern. In some cases, the Mosaic of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem provides a parallel in the general decorative quality and level of finish and pseudo-marble ornament that can be compared with the crypt. But the closest parallel for wall and vault ornament is in the Katholikon at Hagia Sophia, in the walls of the nave, the porch and floor mosaic in a diamond shape appear throughout the Katholikon in mosaic. As well as the other frescoes of the chapel and the galleries.

Two prominent pseudo-Kufic ornaments painted on the impost blocks above the two tombs in yellow letters outlined in black are significant within the ornament of the crypt (fig. 10).

PROGRAM AND MEANING

Reading and understanding the groups of images presented in the crypt requires that we now define the thematic patterns among them and discover the messages and ideas they contain. We will consider the three categories, starting with the most complex, that of the medallion portraits of warrior martyrs, apostles, and holy men; in these the implications of their selection and arrangement. Next, the themes in the eight scenes in lunettes around the walls will be examined as a group, for these, also, offer specific preoccupations and meanings. The apse and entrance vault will be considered last, for their messages support and unify those of the other categories. A reading of all the subject categories reveals the overall meaning behind the program of this crypt in its selection of decorative subject matter.

Although all the saints and scenes represented in the crypt appear in monumental decoration elsewhere, either singly or in groups, the scheme of the crypt is never before

¹² Deichmann, *Ravenna*, pls. 1, 2 (Mausoleum of Galla Placidia) and pl. 37 (Orthodox Baptistry).

¹³ Reith, *Cappadocian*, Serial patterns, pp. 10-11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

¹⁴ Mosaicry such as the Pindos church is also provided with baptismal relief with good and even designs; a previous set of comparisons should be consulted, see also A. Frantz, "Byzantine Mosaicry: A Study in Chronology," *J. A. S. A.* 1975, and Maria Kamilari-Vassiliou, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Deichmann, *Ravenna*, pls. 1, 2 (Mausoleum of Galla Placidia) and pl. 37 (Orthodox Baptistry).

¹⁶ Reith, *Cappadocian*, Serial patterns, pp. 10-11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

¹⁷ Mosaicry such as the Pindos church is also provided with baptismal relief with good and even designs; a previous set of comparisons should be consulted, see also A. Frantz, "Byzantine Mosaicry: A Study in Chronology," *J. A. S. A.* 1975, and Maria Kamilari-Vassiliou, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Deichmann, *Ravenna*, pls. 1, 2 (Mausoleum of Galla Placidia) and pl. 37 (Orthodox Baptistry).

¹⁹ Reith, *Cappadocian*, Serial patterns, pp. 10-11, 12, 13, 14

found. Finally, there is a certain geographic location and in different parts of the iconostasis where either saints or figures are portrayed, in the iconostasis of the iconostasis. Similar positions and arrangements of subjects in other iconostases and mosaics help to understand their meanings here. But perhaps most revealing are the parallels between the *Katholikon* and the *Prothesis* and the iconostasis in the great church above.

Among all the comparisons, the extraordinary beauty of the crypt is the completeness of its program: no doors are left open and for the most part the portraits depart toward an identical personage. Elsewhere monumental mosaics surround the entrance to the crypt, but here no one obtrudes, almost the whole decoration as it was originally planned, this very completeness even helps us argue for the identification of the two donors among the portraits in the southern wall. The analysis of this completeness presented is thus especially useful in recognizing the possible internal range and questions of meaning of this set of images. It also might serve as a measure against which to assess less complete programs.

On the north-south axis of the crypt, between the entrance and the tomb of Holy Luke, are three bays (B, E, and F) whose vaults contain medallions with twelve Warrior Martyrs (see the schematic plan in figure 10).¹⁰ The first in the vault nearest the tomb, Theodore Stratelates, Demetrius, George, and Procopius, are the first four Holy Martyrs mentioned in the *Book of Martyrs*; three of these four, Theodore, Demetrius, and George, are called Great Martyrs in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople. All twelve warriors were martyred in the third or fourth century except for Arcadius, who was martyred in the sixth.

Of the twelve warriors there is one deliberate pairing in their placement: Aniketos and Phocas who appear opposite each other in vault E were martyred together under Theodosius and share the same feast day. These are the only warrior martyrs in the crypt classified in the *Palatine Manual* as "Nobles or Nobility," or *anagorai*.¹¹ This group is well represented in the mosaic decoration of the *Katholikon* above, but to the exclusion of these two saints.¹² They do appear again as a pair in the soffits of the arches leading to the prothesis at Kildar Kilise in Cappadocia.¹³ Phocas is also the first saint seen by the viewer (entering the crypt) from an iconographic detail of technique and embellishment distinguishable from the others among the three vaults with warrior saints, only in this vault do the saints hold crosses with terminal dots and the borders have cross-hatched and interlaced patterns on rhombi and triangles. Also, in this vault the saints were margined in one fresco for they have survived much better than elsewhere—in vault E, for example. Although Phocas and Aniketos do not appear, or perhaps do not survive, in the *Katholikon* in Hosios Loukas, the prominent placement and differentiation of these portraits in the *anagorai* signal their special importance for those who used the crypt at Hosios Loukas.

Another prominent position among the warriors of the crypt is held by Theodore

Stratelates. For his portrait medallion is immediately above the tomb of St. Luke in the east of the axis leading from the entrance to the tomb. The wall facing north warrior saints, with Theodore Stratelates, the three other warrior saints of vault B, Demetrius, George, and Procopius, appear in full-length portraits almost at military regalia in the *Katholikon*. Theodore and Maurice from vault E and Vincentius from vault F are also prominently placed in the east. Four of the twelve full-length warriors appear yet a third time, on the north wall of the north-east chapel and in the *Katholikon*. Theodore, Demetrius, and Phocas are probably appeared a fourth time, in the prothesis of the *Katholikon*.¹⁴ Theodore Stratelates in the full-length portrait in Theodore's tomb is named that warrior in the *Synaxarion*.¹⁵ Warrior martyrs are well represented in the *Katholikon* and in the crypt, but the frequency with which the images of Theodore Stratelates occur (in exceptional and indicative special importance of this saint at Hosios Loukas).

The warriors of vaults B and E appear in monumental decoration at Cappadocia, for example, at Tokali Kilise at Göreme and the Great Pigeon House at Çavuşin, of the twelfth century. In the twelfth-century church of Söğüt, fully warriors appear very prominently as full-length figures, for example, at Çelebi, the *Palatine Chapel*, *Mosque*, and the *Martirion*.¹⁶ In Constantinople the holy warriors appear in fresco in the prothesis at Kariye Djami, their fresco portraits lining the walls on either side of the piers' niches.¹⁷

In ivory carving the warrior saints appear frequently with groupings similar to those on the vaults of the crypt. For example, in the *Palatine Menologion*, *Yamane*, and *Harbaville* *exaptychi* of the tenth or eleventh century, warrior saints occupy the same space as all of the twelve crypt warriors appear in the *Harbaville* *exaptychi* alone, where they frame a Deesis composition in the central panel.¹⁸ Phocas and Aniketos do not appear in the ivories.

Manuscript painting offers one significant example of a grouping of warrior saints with parallels in the crypt. In the *Synaxarion* of the *Palatine* or *Book of Hours*, *Menologion*, 171, there are six medallion portraits of saints framing the monumental figure of the emperor Theodosius, Demetrius, George, Procopius, Maurice, and Nestor.¹⁹ These warrior saints are cited as special patron saints of the emperor, whose prothesis their holy to win his wars, in the iambic verse opposite the miniature that role is made explicit: "The martyrs fight with him [Theodosius] in friendship, having lost the emperor's power at his

¹⁰ See Chatekaia, *Palatine Menologion*, pls. 1, 2, 3.

¹¹ See Chatekaia, *Palatine Menologion*, pls. 1, 2, 3.

¹² See Durr and Durr, *Mosaic*, pl. 37; *Mosaic*, pls. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

¹¹ See Chatekaia, *Palatine Menologion*, pls. 1, 2, 3.

¹² See Durr and Durr, *Mosaic*, pl. 37; *Mosaic*, pls. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

¹³ See Durr and Durr, *Mosaic*, pl. 37; *Mosaic*, pls. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94

and the similarly groupings of warrior saints appear in the late tenth-century vaulted mosaic of the Katholikon in San Vitale in Ravenna.¹⁰

Although the warriors appear with regularity in Byzantine art in a variety of media, they are especially numerous and prominently placed both in the Katholikon and the crypt at Hosios Loukas.¹¹ Theodora Katakouz appears most frequently of all the warriors, signifying her special importance here; the two martyrs, Paphlagon and Aniketos, who appear much more seldom, also receive an emphasis in the crypt.

Of the three categories of portrait medallions in the crypt the apostles are the oldest and most widely represented group; they appear in three bays (D, E, and G) along the central east-west axis of the crypt between the bone vaults and the narthex. Some aspects of their grouping by vaults appear significant. For example, the Evangelist and apostle Luke, the common patron of the monastery's founder, appears in the eastern quadrant of vault E while Luke of Sinope appears in the corresponding quadrant of the neighbouring vault to the north, vault C. A third Luke, whom we believe is Luke the Syrian, appears in the southern quadrant of vault J. Thus the apostle represents the audience in a trio of Lukes in the three vaults in the eastern side of the crypt.

With Luke in vault F appear two more Evangelists, Matthew and Mark, but instead of the fourth Evangelist John, we find Andrew as the fourth portrait, opposite Luke. Thus, the Evangelists do not appear as a united group among the apostles as they do, for example, at Nov Moni where the four Evangelists appear seated, distinguishing them from the rest of the twelve who are not.¹² As in the crypt, the four Evangelists do not appear in any distinct grouping among the apostles in the narthex of the Katholikon.

An exception to this rule occurs in the case of Sts. Peter and Paul in vault D; these saints usually receive prominent placement, most often on either side of Christ, in any grouping of saints, but here they do not appear in what could be considered significant location within the layout of the crypt. In the narthex mosaics of the Katholikon, in a more customary arrangement, Peter and Paul stand in the intrados of the arches on either side of the entrance to the naos, over which is a lunette with the half-length figure of Christ.

The location of the apostles in the vaults in the east-west axis leading to the apse does compare with early examples of church decoration. San Vitale in Ravenna and St.

¹⁰ See Papadopoulos, *Handbook*, p. 11, and for another example, the endostichos of Hosios Loukas (pl. 10, 11), where a group of the same warrior saints, this time in detail, guards, and plays in the coqueles. Basil II and Constantine VIII.

¹¹ For the grouping of military and other saints in the first and later Evangelist cells, see J. C. Maras, "The Four Evangelists," *DOP* 41 (1987): 373–81, esp. 381 and pl. 5.

¹² A probable connection with Luke and Andrew is that they were both martyred in the Balkans at the end of the first century or first century AD.

¹³ C. S. Lewis, *St. John*, pp. 117–18; "The 11

because that they are included in twelve figures of apostles, four of whom are the evangelists, each in their own feature found in the program of the dome of Nov Moni." Furthermore, Mouriki emphasizes the interconnection of the apostles with the Virgin in the apse at Nov Moni (p. 118). This can be extended to the crypt with its focus on the apse. The early integration of the last Evangelist into the medallion cycle of the apostles' portraits, although with no distinct grouping, appears in the Paphlagon-Katakouz in Cyprus (the Katholikon at Moni Jurek and in San Vitale in Ravenna).

Catherine's on Mount Sinai both have series of medallion portraits of saints in the apse leading to the sanctuary.¹⁴ In an early example, the apse of the Paphlagon-Katakouz in Cyprus, the apse is the only part of the church where the saints appear in groups of three, all carrying open books.¹⁵ The medallion cycle in the crypt where they appear on the inner wall leading to the dome in the apse. There is a resemblance in both examples emphasizes their importance in the church and in the world.

There are more medallion portraits of holy men than of Christ, martyrs or apostles, as opposed to twelve in each of the later cases. The last three vaults, A, H, C, and J, are conserved to portraits of holy men. Lines of the mosaic preserve can be identified by various means: through their inscriptions, through infrared photography, in the nineteenth century, and through comparative studies of other portraits and inscriptions in documents pertaining to the patron of the monastery. These mosaic portraits are perhaps most important for an understanding of the crypt's program.

In vaults A and H on the west side of the crypt are not so much portraits as labeled stereotypes (figs. 37–44). All seem to have been painted by the same artist. They lack individuality and their traits cannot be used to support their identities without recorded names (they would be anonymous saints). Most, however, have counterparts in mosaic in the church above and these correspond somewhat to their groupings. For example, the four saints in vault H, Abramo, Theodosios, Maximos, and Demetrios, all have counterparts in the northwest vault of the naos of the Katholikon (pl. 40, 41). In all cases they carry martyrs' crosses, like the warrior martyrs, although they are not technically martyrs. The exceptional feature of all the portraits of holy men in the crypt is that none have halos, whereas the warriors and apostles all do.¹⁶

The four saints of vault H may be seen as two monks, two hermits who became abbots and founded monasteries, Abramo and Theodosios, and two abbots who were writers and whose works had an important impact on monasticism, Maximos and Demetrios. The fact that all were abbots of monasteries relates them to St. Luke, the first abbot of Hosios Loukas.

The saints represented in the three surviving identifiable portraits of vault A also appear in the Katholikon: Joannikios, Symeon, and Makarios, although there may be two individuals named Makarios involved. If this is Makarios of Pelicci, he might be associated with Joannikios, located opposite him in the vault, who was also an abbot and a miracle worker in the ninth century in Bithynia. If on the other hand this is Makarios of Egypt, like his namesake in the Katholikon, he would be a representative of Egyptian

¹⁴ See Lewis and Weitzmann, *St. John*, and Lewis, *St. John*, p. 117–18; "The 11

¹⁵ See Papadopoulos, *Handbook*, p. 11.

¹⁶ In the Katholikon the decoration seems to

around the apse and around the entrance to the sanctuary (pl. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

grains and the leading out followed by the monks at the monastery and will continue to be available for our understanding of the monastery. The purports in the southern part provide unique insights into the individuals and events behind devotional flowering in the middle. Because periods arrive, English and learning are also demonstrated, and we understand the different types of patronage. The composition of programmatic themes of the Katholikon and the seven's discourse demonstrates the specific and local economic, collective and communal in the complex planned undertaking. The impact of the interests and powerful art of these findings on the viewer is not only to show how hope has salvation but also to evoke Holy Luke's presence and his ongoing resurrection role, not revealed by monks at the monastery after his death, of working resurrection.

STYLE

The "Hosios Loukas style" is both unique and varied.¹⁰ The frescoes in the *trapeza* and mosaic and frescoes of the great church of the Katakombon show a range of characteristics and details: technical devices and formulas, and pictorial devices and color schemes. Nowhere else in any surviving monumental ensemble do we find a decorative scheme of such beauty, or with an equivalent repertoire or combination of features. Differences in medium, between fresco and mosaic, naturally produce differences not only in the style as it appears throughout the monument is unique and identifiable. We are challenged, therefore, to define this style as we find it in the frescoes of the *trapeza*, to measure its hallmarks and save its variety. For characterizing the "Hosios Loukas style," we refer not only here to the artists practiced there itself, but also to those artists who could be assigned with regard to other examples of middle Byzantine monumental painting.

Before analysing materialist factors composing *ren* style, we will take stock of the overall character of this artistic evidence. The walls of the crypt are lavishly decorated with polychrome representations of figures and scenes but also with a layer of ornament. The balance between ornament and figure decoration is noteworthy. For in its subtle and busy pattern, an impression of unity of *sofistic* not of confusion or overabundance. Each area of painted wall further clearly reflects its relation to the structure: vaults or niches, divisions between vault segments, frames around the scenes, and so on. Such is a major factor in the balance. For the decorative borders are planned to complement the spatial transposition of scenes and are not so made as to distract from them. The patterns of vault decoration differ enough to avoid monotony, but do not draw attention away from the sanctified figures surrounded. Polychrome mosaic, marble and various types of wall tapestries and stencils become but always in a logical manner. A rich pattern of subtle effects permeates the walls, but one does not preoccupation in terms of colour. A language of complexity has been achieved in this decorative scheme that

is both restrained and terse, *probleme* and *brève*. It values results, not *how* a solution is achieved. The author's approach is a problem of pursuing an interest, but a highly rational, serious, and rigorous approach that could only have been developed by an experienced master. The balance and clarity of the application of functions to small numbers are (practically) inspiring and integral to the style.

Within the framework of representational theories, we will look at how these authors treat the treatment of human figures, in particular how and despite the treatment of composition and compositional elements, and the color scheme. These constitute important defining elements of the "Haus Looker style".

The faces of the *Mytilus* have in common 25 to 28 radiating, strong, bony, pointed ribs or barbs, and 10 to 15 rays. The nostrils have felt hairs, sometimes pointed spines or barbs; there is usually a thin, single, soft, translucent, flat, brownish, moist and lip-like skin for example *S. yaldoni* (fig. 34). Eyes are covered by fleshy, exuberant and lids, lashes extend outward in a short, thin, dark arch, and there are pronounced, ridges under the eyes. Hair is curly or delinquent to the back, and there seems to be a pre-orientation for movement.

The apostles have larger ears in proportion to the rest of the face than the women, giving them more spiritual expression, as with St. Mark (fig. 24). Although certain iconopreciousness visual models, they are closest to an antique philosopher or "thinker" type, with broad, prominent forehead and short beard. There are distinct iconizations of the hair in many cases, such as Peter's spiral curls (fig. 25), Andrew's hair curls (fig. 26), Matthew's lock (fig. 27), or Bartholomew's short curls of hair touching the top of his forehead (fig. 27). There is often a prominent triangular V between the eyebrows. When short hair is worn, huge "cassidors" may protrude (e.g. in Paul) (fig. 28).

For the portraits of holy men, a whole different set of individual devices had to be given them an ascetic look. Most have thin lips with lugubrious expressions equaled by heavy, melting and elongation of cheeks, and extreme concentration of features, especially in the bulbous foreheads, like St. Alvanus (fig. 45). His face has a long almost-shaped section over the chin and more than the "sausage-like" nose. Some have a misanthropic, vacant quality of expression, such as in saints A and B. The three portraits at *Arles* in saint J, in contrast, have been created realistically with thin and smiling, pendulous and an absence of linear features. Their brotherly and individuality suggest the artist painted them from life (figs. 46-48).¹⁰

In the stories, there are powerfully drawn, and long, dark eyes and long, pale lips depict a distinctly masculine, complex and tallening, with every day and dark, Indian hair, as in the process of the Entry into Jerusalem in the third time, on the page 104. The triangle between the *exordium* appears in all four. The first of them is the introduction of Thomas in the Last Supper (see below), were apparently caused by the introduction of Thomas in the Last Supper (see below). The dark eyes, the extreme darkness of the eyes, eyebrows, and creases under the eyes. The dark eyes, and black beard around the face and neck, and others of the same type, are

Nicodemus of the burial and in some disciples of the Incredulity of Thomas, another facial inscription appears: a pronounced line from the bridge of the nose up the forehead, and for eyes in three-quarter view (fig. 76).¹⁰

The coexistence of different facial types within the same program indicates a deliberate choice by the artist to adhere to different types of models for different categories of portraits. The differences among these portraits, which can be classified as the stereotype, the usual model, and the life portraits, demonstrate the flexibility of a style in which the artist adapts his technique to the subject matter; we encounter here an iconography of style. The dates in vaults A and H seem to have been painted by the same artist, as were the three very naturalistic portraits in vault J, but beyond this it is difficult to recognize elsewhere the work of any one individual. When the technique is determined by the intent of the artist to render different racial types, the question of "hands" becomes secondary in importance.

The drapery of figures is ruled by the brushstroke, with no attempt made to disguise it but instead to exploit its expressive potential. The garments of warriors and apostles are painted in medium tones, then dark contours and shadows are added in brushstrokes of shades of low color, with white highlights being applied last. This use of white is free but decisive. The white brushstrokes are parallel to the lines of creases, either straight or curving; they define the curves of shoulders by creating rounded patterns on the base tone, and they give a sense of movement to the edges of drapery contours by appearing at intervals as two short, quick parallel strokes (see pl. 7). White pigment is frequently used in a technique resembling stenciling in the tunics of Bartholomew and Matthew, for example, where triangular areas are painted starting with flat white in a corner and gradually progressing to a sunburst pattern of separate rays (figs. 27, 31). The wedge-shaped motif, and rear-drap pattern over the shoulders—seen on the disciples of the Incredulity of Thomas, for example—are produced by clearly visible individual strokes of white paint (fig. 76). The spiral-shaped motif over the abdomen of the angel of the Resurrection or of Christ of the Last Supper is again produced by parallel strokes of low and high color over a medium ground color (figs. 62, 70). The white brushstroke is seen at its most dynamic and expressive in the hair of Peter's cliton in the Last Supper; the sense of fluttering motion is produced solely by the application of a series of wavy white lines and a jagged white baseline (pl. 8, fig. 63).

Clearly visible brushstrokes appear in swirls around the heads of figures in medallion portraits, with lighter tones closest to the head and darker ones toward the border. The effect produced is like the emanation of light from the face or a sense of dynamism and energy surrounding it.

Color is an important consideration for a stylistic evaluation that is often neglected, but, without mentioning color it would be impossible to describe the frescoes and to define their effect. The broad and subtle range of pastel shades appears most surprising in the scenes of the triptych. For while we are constantly confronted with stark contrasts

of dark and light—ornamental patterns in swirling colors against plain backgrounds, or the ornament, or dark eyes in pale faces on figured backgrounds—pastel shades are most plentiful in garments and landscape elements that are dark colors. When dark blue or black does appear, it is for emblematic reasons—that is, in Christ's dark blue thick black cross of the Crucifixion and the Deposition (pl. 3). The use of shades of pink and light green is especially frequent in garments (see pls. 3, 13), but there are also occasional shades of mustard, cranberry, pale, and deep olive. Lighter and darker blues appear as base colors, and there are yellow, red, and brown colors as well as other colors (see pls. 5, 12). Since dark blue does around for the background of the scenes and the model, the pastel garments of figures stand out from their surroundings in bright colors, allowing the eye to take in the full range of human detail and not transition from light garment colors to white highlights (see pls. 1–5).

The compositions of the scenes, although painted directly on textured surfaces, do not have the hieratic quality of their counterparts in mosaic. They are not abstractly symmetrical but instead have a more relaxed narrative quality through the use of background elements. For example, Christ riding to Jerusalem is not in the center of the composition; the arrangement of figures is simple, with background mountains framing the head, so that the effect is both bold and clear (fig. 84 and pl. 4).¹¹ The scale and proportion of figures in the scenes are such that they have ample space for movement. Figures gesture and respond to one another with a natural directness and grace. In the Washing of the Feet, for example, the disciples looking on and preparing to foot themselves within some wall adapted to the space of the lunette, while in the northern mosaic, considering of the same the groups are more cramped and distorted (fig. 60, pl. 10). Proportions of figures are natural, being neither elongated nor squat, with drapery that neither conceals nor clings to them; bodies are clearly understood and articulated beneath the drapery. If a scene can fit the conventions of painting technique breaking drapery up into abstract patterns and simplifying and enlarging facial features, they could be considered as more decorative, classifying.

Backgrounds and landscape elements are used expressively and economically. As has been mentioned, the mountains in the backgrounds of compositions are not so much as well as accents for the events depicted; they also represent an emotional element in the way their jagged peaks are fragmented into angular, rocky outcrops. In the example in the Deposition from the Cross (fig. 84), against the mountains, the effect would be much more of a flat stage with dark backdrop, analogous to the plain gold ground of mosaic compositions, than the mountains, with their red, white, blue, and delicate, sinuous plant growth, serve to soften the transition between figures and dark blue sky. The architectural background of the Knesset frames the central scene (fig. 77), and although iconographically the warriors have taken place in the Virgin's house

¹⁰ This line on the forehead is found in the fresco of the Pentecost from Chalki, near Constantinople, dated ca. 1000, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

¹¹ Examples from Diakelion, Not Mosaics, but frescoes, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

¹² Mosaic, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

the decorative stepped pattern and motifs of the background are a conventional medieval formula through the centuries of manuscript illumination.

Other elements trace together features. The focus on the Washing of the Feet and the scene in the Last Supper are clearly in round composition (figs. 60, 61, pl. 17), they seem to rely on iconotype formulae that one would find at a monastery, rather than being moulded to meet the demand as in some monumental renderings of the scenes. The great landscape of the Descent has a stepped pattern and decorative motifs and rather like mosaic composition (pl. 10, fig. 62). Painted imitations of marble and mosaic work cover every surface where there would appear normally in a church the inclusion of pseudo-Kufic elements in the decoration of the two apse niches and the sanctuary, and the heavily monumental quality of architectural members and divisions, indicate a strong concern for covering surfaces with precious and brilliant materials. A distinctively oriental flavour is evident in the floral ornament of niches and arches and pseudo-Kufic motifs.

This all-over quality of decoration appears in most cave churches of Cappadocia—the examples, Tokalı, Kızılcık, and Cavuşlar—but there the narrative scenes in bands do not at all resemble these 'columbs' of Hosios Loukas, in the crypt they are framed as monumental forms, just as in the later 'columbs churches' of Cappadocia. In the murals at Nea Moni, Haphnı and the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas the same precious quality is achieved from containing scenes with ornamental borders and variegated marble revetments.

The mosaics and frescoes of the Katholikon provide the latest stylistic parallel with the crypt and it is important to establish the relationship among them. A comparison with the mosaics is facilitated if we examine subjects or scenes that appear in both. The narthex of the Katholikon provides the best opportunity, for there, as we have already noted, three of the four mosaic scenes also appear among the frescoes of the crypt, the Crucifixion, the Washing of the Feet, and the Incredulity of Thomas. The three scenes show many stylistic similarities with their counterparts but we will only cite a few.

First, comparing the Crucifixion in mosaic and in fresco, the composition in both is pared down to three essential elements, the crucified Christ, the Virgin and St. John (cf. figs. 68, 90). The tones are generally lighter in the mosaic with a reliance on dark outlines for clear definition of forms. In the figures of St. John, which appear in exactly the same attitude, the painted colors are deeper and richer in the fresco, with an emphasis on modeling of the folds and highlights of his garments. John appears altogether more physically conceived, more clarifying in the articulation of the body and the folds of drapery over it, although the two men quite clearly drawn from the same model. The fresco, however, achieves a more convincing rendering of the knees beneath the chiton, with a V-shaped fold indicating where the drapery clings to the leg before falling along the side of the calf. The mosaic, although it reproduces the V shape in dark tesserae, is far less successful in giving an illusion of plasticity or three-dimensionality. The result is a more abstract and sharply patterned arrangement of parallel rows of cubes in graduated tones, from dark creases to light highlights. Also, in the upper torso of St. John, two identically parallel bands with broad zigzag patterns fall from shoulder to waist. But again, the fresco's exponent employs a sense of the plasticity of drapery while the mosaic

sees the folds as a flat design. Along the upper of the prominent bands (also in the mosaic) in both St. John clear evidence of their common source is a pattern of interlocking diamond (in both fresco and mosaic) in every corner of Hosios Loukas. The similarities of style as well as iconography in these two examples in making a mosaic site in the other parallel sets of examples. The fresco and mosaic versions of the Washing of the Feet and the Incredulity of Thomas, the frescoes in the crypt, the fresco and mosaic versions of drapery indicate a common model (cf. figs. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

in the other parallel sets of examples. The fresco and mosaic versions of the Washing of the Feet and the Incredulity of Thomas, the frescoes in the crypt, the fresco and mosaic versions of drapery indicate a common model (cf. figs. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

A comparison of the individual portraits in mosaic and fresco, showing tendency toward repetition and lack of individuality from central mosaic and in the fresco, with the exception of some in each case due to established typology on previous examples (cf. figs. 13, 95).

The frescoes of the northeast, northwest, and southwest chapels of the Katholikon show pronounced similarities with frescoes of the crypt. For example, compare the faces of the five martyrs of the northwest chapel and those of St. Basil and St. Nectarios from the southwest chapel with the seven martyrs of saints B, E, and I of the crypt.

From these examples it is clear that the same models were used for the mosaics and the frescoes and that they therefore are closely contemporary. We can even suggest that the artists who executed the frescoes were trained in the art of mosaic, which might account for the pronounced graphic and schematic quality of some of the frescoes.¹⁰ Since mosaic was the more precious and expensive medium, the decoration of the crypt, one can assume artists trained in this medium were especially sought for Hosios Loukas for this purpose and also executed the frescoes, rather than the other way around. We can therefore conclude, from the links between the two works just discussed, that the mosaic and fresco decoration of the Katholikon and the crypt must have been carried out by the same workshop during the same campaign in the twelfth century.

Now that we have established the contemporaneity of the mosaics and the frescoes of Hosios Loukas, we confront the issue of the date of this campaign and its opening. In the absence of foundation inscriptions or documents giving us the information, scholars have variously dated the Katholikon, primarily on the basis of the style of the frescoes. Dating ranges from the early to the late eleventh century.¹¹ With the recent evidence of the frescoes, we will look at some comparative examples in mosaic and fresco of the tenth and eleventh centuries in an attempt to find in them two criteria for a dating based

¹⁰ See the discussion of fresco mosaic, pp. 116-17, and the discussion of the fresco mosaic, pp. 116-17.

¹¹ This idea was suggested by David M. S. Brown and David M. S. Brown.

¹² The evidence and arguments for dating the

mosaic and fresco, pp. 116-17, and the discussion of the fresco mosaic, pp. 116-17.

The evidence and arguments for dating the

are largely in otherwise hard-to-reach places, such as remote mountainous and high-altitude territories with Cantonese and Hakka populations, and by crypto-fidelity intermediaries between Cantonese and Hakka regions, a few like the person who visited. Previous programs, in British Columbia, Quebec, and Ontario, to foster aspects of the Hakkas' London were dominated by Cantonese, English, and Hakka diasporic, recognized by Terry Coleman as being part of the "Chinese" narrative that served the empire in the last half of the century and first half of the twentieth century, and that provided the evidence of the transnational movement that was necessary to understand seriously criticism for offering a specific diaspora, but progression that was given as it into a broader, more flexible arena, and the presence in Hakkas' London that neither was necessarily visible, because of the

Some prominent stylistic features in the domestic art are common to the painted backgrounds with their frontal orientation, pale, neutral tones, the prominent and explicit similarities with other features in Malta. The Mosaicist of Basil D. Younger (1913) of ca. 1500, provides numerous iconographic and stylistic parallels with the frescoes of the crypt. It has already been noted that the majority of figures presented in the crypt have fewer drapes in the first half of the liturgical year and therefore are represented in this iconography in which the most basic is preserved. The commonality of the same saints, there is a striking coincidence of facial types. Among the many oval-shaped faces and facial expressions – "The model and common face of the saints has been appear frequently in the works of the Mosaicist of the Throni Madonna and the same grizzled look in each case, with lowered brow and inked-up mouth – known to the holy men, Theodosius the Cypriot and his close friend, Mennasius, a companion, with a chin patch and thin, lined face." The correspondence between the two portraits of Luke the Stylite has already been discussed. In all other instances of portraits, the crypt frescoes are closer to the Mosaicist than to the mosaic of Hagiou Loukas itself.

The concept of the human figure and the manner in which drapery falls over the body are closely parallel in the crypt and in the Monestirion. Notably, large areas of triangular and rectangular drapery appear to be both 'drifting' downwards and 'drifting' upwards (a jagged pattern) at times, superimposed folds, undraped portions, concentric waves of folds, and their highlights. The figure of Joseph in the Monestirion is the standard to which a figure of Matthew can be compared with little at the Entry into Jerusalem or the desecration of the Incubatory at Thomas'. The cruder pattern of drapery on the Incubatory woman's figure in the crypt appears in the Monestirion. The unusual decorative motif, in drapery in the Entry into Jerusalem or the crypt as found on previous basins at the Monestirion.

[illegible]

The Minuscules had much more use of parallel hatching and decorative and chromatic patterns on displays than the others, but the general style and clarity of the *resonancia* strikingly remind, in such the portraits, the discipline of the script found in *perpallada* and, more closely so those of the Minuscules than to the masters of the Katholiken. The evident similarity in the script is enhanced by the monastic character in its style of writing. The probable derivation of some letters of the Hohen Landau from a manuscript like the Minuscules indicates that painters were relying on models to transcribe the result of their labour. But the monastic character and predominance of these bold and expressive features, as in a monastic style. However, there is some kinship in the highly ornamented play of *resonancia* fields and highlights. The figure style of the Minuscules is more classical and refined in fact but at the very least we can suggest the *arte-fama* from I. Constantino's involvement where manuscripts had essential monastic character. One can even suggest that an illustrated minuscule or a canonist such as the Minuscules of Basil II and an illustrated Gospel lectionary, were brought in or were already in the possession of the monastery and copied to model. These manuscripts would have been done in pairs and sent to the Constantinian Monastery at Basil (cf. note 1).

Two features of the large represent a program with a specifically directed message: planning the literary, administrative, and rail functions of the crypt. The order of the literary, with its bold, heavily ironic and emotionally highlighted imagery, powerful representational force, and half-closed trails in place in the wider country of needs and dissatisfactions, becomes art. Because this order is not an exact counterpart of the one

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providing information or work at any time, rather than at scheduled programming times; graphics, and others. Reports that can be designed at desktop computers, using the needs and strengths orientation, eliminate the limitations of a late design. Finally, the use of video cameras can be used to monitor and record work.

The artists who exhibited the drawings of script were working from the same models and at the same time in those who exhibited the process of the Kodaklan. Nonetheless, of lexicography, typography, style, and technique, indicate that a group of artists are working contemporaneously in the two media and was probably brought from a common source for this large undertaking. The three printers were, however, to have been most adaptable in their interpretation of random notes and ordered into subject in a linear and more classifying process. A survey of hand-written has been a work but this is not a significant point to argue in the overall view in the script where a community despite the influence of random concepts in type. The achievement is best demonstrated in the portraits that were done by skilled artists while working within prescribed modes of portraiture, as described earlier.

A flexibility and sensitivity in the *Bioscience* staff must thus be encouraged, to name, if given, due credit for originality within a framework that included a set experience of studies and figures types. At the same time, this represents a need for individual experiences and precise interpretation in the studies or the figures, just as *Bioscience* in Africa was working on the unfolding helping hand for other fields to fill full was kind, the *Bioscience* patterns of Human Links must have had their own sense and the entire performance, the joyful services of documentation, the very first, women in the multidiversity of conception and the immaturity of involvement of those carry out the project.

ARCHITECTURE AND LITURGY

AS AN ARCHITECTURAL ensemble the monastery at Hosios Loukas is undoubtedly the best-preserved middle Byzantine monastery we have today. Impressive as these physical remains are, however, little has been said about their disposition. These spaces of great cohesion as on one side the church and the scriptorium form the core of the monastery and possess many unanswered questions of space, rather separately or in relation to one another. There is no written record of their specific liturgical uses, as there is for some Byzantine. Nor does a chronicle, or a typical or any other reliable document survive to inform upon the most basic questions of who built the monastery—providing the vast funds necessary for the construction and decoration of the Katholikon—to say nothing of the necessary endowment for maintenance.

Although we cannot discuss in any detail the history of the foundation of the monastery or how life was conducted here, there are ample indications surviving in documents pertaining to other monasteries. In fact, in most cases we have the documents without the monastery. From most typika and service books describing orthodox worship in general or cult practices in particular monasteries, we can reconstruct the daily patterns of usage of the churches. The crypt, however, poses a special challenge, for parallel as quite rare for this period, especially ones as large as the Hosios Loukas crypt, and we have no documents at all that clearly point to a liturgical crypt functioning liturgically.

To understand the likely purposes of usage of space at the monastery, especially concerning the crypt, there are several types of evidence that help to reconstruct the picture. First, archaeological evidence enables us to compare the crypt architecturally with other ancient monasteries where usage is, in some cases, recognizable. Second, literary sources describing the operation of other monasteries suggest possible liturgical uses of crypts. Third, the *Typikon* of Hosios Loukas itself sheds valuable light on the liturgical use of the most, with specific suggestions for the crypt at Hosios Loukas and more general ones for the monks of holding cults at the tomb of holy men in the middle Byzantine period.

One aim in examining this problem is to test the assumption that there was a common form for certain aspects of church design and liturgical use in the middle Byzantine period.¹ Hosios Loukas serves as a test case only in the interrelation of architecture

and liturgy but also retrospicaciously reveals how well (or how) the problem of the crypt was solved in Chapter I, both in the liturgical and architectural aspects of the crypt.

THE ARCHITECTURE

Monastic churches often survive, either in total isolation, as with Santa Catalina in Athens, or surrounded by some of their original settings, as at Hosios and Saint Mamas, Chios. The churches at Hosios Loukas, however, still stand as part of a great cluster of fig. 1). The ensemble has survived so largely intact in part because the monastery has remained in use almost continuously from the time of its consecration in the twelfth century, and also because of its isolated location. The church of the Pantokrator has been conclusively dated but I will argue for a dating in the mid-twelfth century. The adjoining Katholikon, or principal church in the monastery, has been dated by some scholars to the eleventh century.² A new dating for the construction of the Katholikon and the crypt in the third quarter of the twelfth century will be one of the major results of this study. Other buildings in the complex are the old monks' quarters or *monachika*, a large well-walled stables, a bell tower, refectory, warming house, bath house, storehouse, guest house, remains of a hospital [3], and a cypress.³

The churches normally receive more attention because of their spatial arrangement and, in the case of the Katholikon, magnificent mosaic decoration. The monastery is remarkably intact, and the recent restorations by the Greek Archaeological Service have been limited to a prudent consolidation of the existing fabric. Thus restorations and the crypt thus survive largely as they appeared when they were built.⁴ The physical evidence indicates the original organization of sacred space, including windows and door openings, galleries, chapels, and other passages, as well as the location of galleries and arrangements for internal lighting. A final look at plans and sections reveals structural features and thereby those implications with which we must be acquainted. The plan of the Pantokrator church is cross-in-square with four columns, the nave is covered by a very large and outstanding of six bays supported by piers, whereas the plan is divided by churches throughout the crypt from the twelfth century on.

The Katholikon is a more unusual type, a cross-in-square with a large apse in the four corners and a single narthex.⁵ A number of possible uses for churches of similar de-

¹ The best example of such an attempt is in the work of the late Professor Dr. Hans Lietzmann, *Die Basilika von Hosios Loukas* (Berlin, 1928). See also the work of the late Professor Dr. Hans Lietzmann, *Die Basilika von Hosios Loukas* (Berlin, 1928). See also the work of the late Professor Dr. Hans Lietzmann, *Die Basilika von Hosios Loukas* (Berlin, 1928).

² The best example of such an attempt is in the work of the late Professor Dr. Hans Lietzmann, *Die Basilika von Hosios Loukas* (Berlin, 1928). See also the work of the late Professor Dr. Hans Lietzmann, *Die Basilika von Hosios Loukas* (Berlin, 1928). See also the work of the late Professor Dr. Hans Lietzmann, *Die Basilika von Hosios Loukas* (Berlin, 1928).

signi, Núi Mui on Chuoi, Saint Ekkodermou in Athens, Daphni, St. Sophia at Maniavaia, St. Theodore at Myra, Chortaris at Trifolia, Chortaris near Salonika, St. Nicholas in the Fields near Orchomenos in Boeotia, St. George Mangana in Istanbul, and, most recently discovered, the church on Hefelada Island near Iamboul, with the addition of the church of Christ at the Clauke Gate of the tenth century.¹ Thomas Mathews attributes the origins of this church type to the domed churches with squinches of Armenia of the seventh and tenth centuries.² The crypt under the Katholikion is generally conform in plan with ten low groin-vaulted bays and three barrel-vaulted arms extending west (see the plan in figure 2).

Involving the interior organization of space is on three levels: ground level, galleries, and crypt. First, on the ground level there are the parallel churches with their eastern sanctuaries; there is, however, a clear focus at this level on the esbortium or *proskynetaria* of the saint, which is located at the spot where the two churches join and interlock.³ This shrine must have held a container of healing oil or water, and on the slab below the octagonal canopy there was an icon with his portrait; the tomb in the crypt was, nevertheless, his burial place. The shrine was located so as to be easily accessible to great numbers of pilgrims who came to venerate the saint; the tomb of Holy Luke is located directly below in the crypt and is less easily accessible.⁴

Second, the gallery levels are only accessible by means of stairways from the monk's quarters outside the northwest corner of the Panagia church. Ascending, one arrives at the north end of a wide passage directly above the exomartirion of that church; from here one may enter a large porticoed room that is above the inner narthex of the Panagia church. The passage also gives access to the galleries of the Katholikion where circulation is possible on the south, west, and north, which permits good visibility of events taking place in the naos below.

Third, on the crypt level, is the tomb of Holy Luke located directly below the shrine in the Katholikion. The spot was established as the burial place before the Katholikion with its crypt was constructed, and the crypt was designed to shelter this important relic in the tomb (*tophos*) of the monastery's founder. Access is limited to one stairway, which

descends on the south side of the double; the crypt could only be reached from outside. Thus, whereas circulation was free and open with much structural reason for getting in and out of the churches at ground level, the crypt and upper levels had formal constitution and only one means of access to each one.

To gain an understanding of the use and function of the crypt, the archaeological evidence must first be examined. Wide steps lead down from the ground level on the south side of the Katholikion to the entrance of the crypt; inside the doorway is a short barrel-vaulted passage. The crypt is traditional in plan with one groin-vaulted bay, at which those on the middle cross-flight on the east-west axis and those on the north-south axis—are significantly larger, thus emphasizing the shape of a cross. Three barrel-vaulted arms extend west, the two on the north and south being smaller and considerably narrower than the middle one. Four square stone piers support the vaults of the crossing and are paired with two more at the entrances to the northern and southern bays (see figs. 3, 5, 6).

The furnishings of the crypt are sparse. On the north wall directly opposite the entrance to the crypt, for many an arcaded niche is marked from the wall grave from the time of the catacombs; a large white marble sarcophagus (fig. 7). Popular tradition at the monastery has long designated this as the tomb of the saint, which is now covered with twentieth-century marble revetment.⁵ Two tombs are set in the northern and southern bays beneath arched openings and framed in their own niches by stone piers (figs. 3–6). These tombs are constructed in brick and stone masonry and covered with marble slabs, the northern one having elaborate pseudo-Kufic inscription and polychrome inlay and the southern one being plain except for a small sliding arched to receive a plaque.⁶ The eastern slab (fig. 4) has been studied by Lascaris Bouras and dated on the basis of comparison with other pseudo-Kufic decoration in the Panagia church to the second half of the tenth century; the altar screen is originally covered the tomb of Holy Luke.⁷ Dividing the sanctuary from the bays of the crypt is a simple large wall with a listel that rests against the lateral walls, partly obscuring the fresco scenes on these surfaces. It has four columns with capitals, a horizontal rail and three moulding courses; the two right-hand columns only (fig. 7). The cross and pendent designs, sculpted on the capitals of the templon barrier and of one of the stone piers of the crypt have resemblances to sculptural details in the Panagia church.⁸ A holy table, consisting of a monolithic block of stone capped by a slab of marble stands inside the sanctuary. On the north wall of the sanctuary a stone slab capped with a marble slab protrudes; there is a hollow about five inches in diameter roughly cut into its surface. The floor of the crypt is paved with brick tiles. In the apses of the groin vaults, four hooks are embedded in the masonry.

¹ Schwab and Brunsley, *Monastery*, p. 78. The church is labeled as Greek. "The church of Saint Loukas: The earliest description and drawing of its plan and structure," in *Journal of the American School of Oriental Research*, 1970, p. 101.

² *Journal of the American School of Oriental Research*, 1970, p. 101.

³ See Bouras, *Monastery*, p. 78, and *Journal of the American School of Oriental Research*, 1970, p. 101.

⁴ The sources of the fresco depicting the saint's tomb and the tomb of the saint are given in the text.

¹ See T. F. Mathews, "Observations on the Church of Panagia Katakombi in Hefelada (Chalki), Iamboul," *DOP* 15 (1971), 175–27, esp. 176. Mangada has two examples: on the left, the church of Christ at the Clauke Gate, built ca. 970, and St. George of Mangana, built in the mid-tenth century by Constantine IX; see C. Mango, "A Note on Panagia Katakombi and Some Imperial Foundations of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries in Constantinople," *DOP* 15 (1971), 128–32. See Ch. Brunsley, *Núi Mui on Chuoi: History and Architecture* (Athens, 1962), pp. 175–76, on the problem of the domed church plan and p. 127 on domed churches in general.

² See Mathews, "Observations on the Church of Panagia Katakombi," p. 126.

³ See Mango, *Constantinople*, pp. 176–77.

For the most recent discussion of the importance of this unusual joining of two churches and the use of the surrounding rooms, see Palas, "Topographie und Chronologie," p. 103 and fig. 2.

⁴ Palas explores the implications and usage of such shrines in his "Le schisme de l'empire de Saint-Dimitrios de Thessalonique," *Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik* 11 (1976), 41–48. The frescoes and sculptures of this monasticism are linked by descriptions of a church in the monastery of Nikos at Sparta. These passages, which speak of galleries, stairways, original marble decorations, and a shrine of the saint, almost seem to be describing features of the Katholikion of Mount Grotto. See Dennis P. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brooklyn, Mass., 1976), chap. 11, pp. 38, 40, 46.

[illegible]

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE THEORY OF THE HISTORY OF THE HUMAN MIND

Handwritten musical notation on a page from a manuscript. The notation consists of several staves, each containing a series of vertical lines and dots, representing musical notes and rests. The notation is arranged in a structured, grid-like fashion across the page.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE THEORY OF THE HISTORY OF THE HUMAN MIND

Handwritten text on a page from a manuscript. The text is written in a cursive script and appears to be a continuation of the discussion on the principles of the theory of the history of the human mind. The text is organized into paragraphs, with some lines indented.

[illegible]

But at length he came to the *forty days* and *forty nights*, *fasting and weeping* (Gen. 42:18) but too experienced that *grace* . . . *came through* (Gen. 42:21). He fasted and wept frequently and prospered (Gen. 42:22) until the week that he finished. He would receive three or even four days and a third would have to come from him. When the week came and was joined by the Father in forgiving him (Gen. 42:24) he felt that he had come when he was as strong in which he could stand and would not have to come from himself. And when he swiftly did it (Gen. 42:25), *grace* . . . *came* and he was *strengthened* (Gen. 42:26). "Depart now is health" according to all the *miraculous* signs of God! And he awakened from his sleep and recognizing that the *breath* *grace* was now *with* him, he described it to all.

| trials of St. Athanasius, pp. 17-28 |

The introduction to the Posthumous Muses in the Lib. of Saint Luke states: "Now it is time to return to the point for which I ask place after the church of the wine class, but all of those for so distant, or perhaps, almost, for how full form, when there are so many" (chap. 68, cf. Paderborn: "Ammon. Hentrich, 1904, p. 100).

Comments: one of 16-20 and Coliforms: Per

